

Message Text

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SUBJECT: SUMMARY OF THE "ANONYMOUS" COMPLEX RULE (SALT TWO-627)

1. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE "COMPLEX RULE" WHICH HAS BEEN DISCUSSED AS AN "ANONYMOUS" IDEA DURING MAY-SHCHUKIN BILATERALS OF RECENT WEEKS (MEMCONS A-83, A-821, A-826, A-837, A-842, AND A-843). WE BELIEVE THAT THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS REPRESENT THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF THE IDEA, AS IT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED THUS FAR. IT MUST BE EMPHASIZED THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE CAREFULLY REFRAINED FROM GIVING ANY INDICATIONS AS TO WHETHER THE IDEA UNDER DISCUSSION WOULD BE EITHER CONSIDERED OR ACCEPTED IN ANY FORM BY THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS.

2. THE IDEA IS THAT COMPLEXES (LARGE, WELL SEPARATED GROUPINGS OF FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS TOGETHER WITH ALL RELATED SUPPORT FACILITIES) IN WHICH ANY ICBMS OF A TYPE TESTED IN BOTH MIRVED AND NONMIRVED VERSIONS ARE DEPLOYED WILL BE DESIGNATED AS EITHER MIRVED OR NONMIRVED. THOSE COMPLEXES DESIGNATED AS MIRVED WILL CONTAIN NO NONMIRVED VERSIONS OF THAT TYPE OF ICBM, AND THOSE DESIGNATED AS NONMIRVED WILL CONTAIN NO MIRVED VERSIONS OF THAT TYPE OF ICBM. OTHER TYPES OF LAUNCHERS, WHICH CONTAIN ICBMS NOT TESTED IN

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BOTH VERSIONS, COULD BE LOCATED AT THOSE DESIGNATED COMPLEXES. THE

IDEA DOES NOT INFLUENCE WHETHER OR NOT THOSE OTHER TYPES COUNT AS MIRVED.

3. THE IDEA, IN ITS "PURE" FORM, WOULD APPLY TO ALL LAUNCHERS FOR TYPES OF FIXED ICBMS WHICH HAVE BEEN TESTED IN BOTH MIRVED AND NONMIRVED VERSIONS, E.G., THE SS-18. SHCHUKIN, WITHOUT CONCEDED THAT ANYTHING BEYOND SOVIET ARTICLE XV IS REQUIRED FOR MIRV VERIFICATION, CONSIDERS THE IDEA AS A POTENTIAL SUBSTITUTE FOR U.S. ARTICLE II.7, WHICH THE SOVIET SIDE HAS REJECTED. MAY HAS SPECIFICALLY DECLINED TO SAY WHETHER THE IDEA ALONE OR IN COMBINATION WITH OTHERS WOULD SUFFICE AS A SOLUTION IN THIS SITUATION.

4. ONE OR MORE DESIGNATED COMPLEXES MIGHT BE EXCEPTED FROM THE PROHIBITION AGAINST CONTAINING BOTH MIRVED AND NONMIRVED VERSIONS OF THE SAME TYPE ICBM. THIS IS CALLED THE "IMPURE" FORM OF THE IDEA. THE IDEA WOULD BE OF MOST VALUE FROM THE STANDPOINT OF VERIFICATION IF THERE WERE NO MIXED COMPLEXES; HOWEVER, IT MIGHT STILL BE OF SOME VALUE IF ONE COMPLEX WERE MIXED.

5. THERE IS ALSO AN "EXTENDED" FORM OF THE IDEA WHICH APPLIES TO MODERN LAUNCHERS THAT COULD ACCOMMODATE EITHER OLDER ICBMS OR MODERN MIRVED ICBMS. UNDER THE "EXTENDED" IDEA, THESE TWO TYPES OF ICBMS ALSO WOULD BE SEGREGATED BY COMPLEXES, AND THE COMPLEXES CONTAINING THE MODERN MIRVED ICBMS WOULD BE SO DESIGNATED.

6. IF BOTH OF TWO TYPES OF ICBMS HAVE BEEN TESTED IN BOTH MIRVED AND NONMIRVED VERSIONS, IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO DESIGNATE WHICH TYPE (OR TYPES) OF MIRVED ICBM IS DEPLOYED IN A GIVEN COMPLEX, BUT ONLY THAT MIRVED VERSIONS OF SUCH ICBMS ARE DEPLOYED IN THAT COMPLEX.

7. THE IDEA WOULD APPLY TO BOTH SIDES. THE SOVIETS HAVE NO QUESTION REGARDING MINUTEMAN II AND III, WHICH ARE DIFFERENT TYPES OF ICBMS, BUT IF WE WERE IN THE FUTURE TO DEPLOY AN ICBM WHICH HAD BEEN TESTED IN BOTH MIRVED AND NONMIRVED VERSIONS, THE TWO VERSIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE DEPLOYED IN DIFFERENT COMPLEXES AND THOSE COMPLEXES CONTAINING MIRVED VERSIONS SO DESIGNATED.

8. THE IDEA WOULD APPLY FOR THE FULL TERM OF THE NEW AGREEMENT,
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AND WOULD INCLUDE ANY EXISTING AND FUTURE ICBMS.

9. MAY HAS STATED THAT , FROM THE STANDPOINT OF VERIFICATION ALONE, THE EARLIER THE DESIGNATION TOOK PLACE, THE BETTER, PERHAPS OCCURRING SOMETIME AFTER THE INITIATION OF LAUNCHER CONVERSION BUT IN ANY CASE BEFORE THE INITIATION OF DEPLOYMENT OF THE REPLACEMENT ICBMS. SHCHUKIN SAID THAT REVEALING ADVANCE PLANS (E.G., REVEALING 1979 PLANS NOW) WOULD BE A PROBLEM FOR THE

SOVIETS, AND HE SUGGESTED THAT DESIGNATION MIGHT TAKE PLACE UPON COMPLETION OF CONVERSION OF THE LAST LAUNCHER OF A GIVEN COMPLEX.

10. IF A RULE BASED ON THE IDEA WERE EMBODIED IN THE AGREEMENT IN SOME FORM, DESIGNATION OF THE COMPLEXES SUBJECT TO THE RULE WOULD BE MANDATORY. IT WAS LEFT OPEN WHETHER DESIGNATION WOULD BE INITIATED BY THE SIDE DEPLOYING THE LAUNCHERS SUBJECT TO THE RULE OR WHETHER IT WOULD COME IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION BY THE OTHER SIDE. THE ONLY DESIGNATION THAT WOULD BE REQUIRED UNDER THE RULE AS DISCUSSED IS THE DESIGNATION OF THOSE COMPLEXES COMING UNDER THE RULE AS CONTAINING OR NOT CONTAINING MIRVED VERSIONS OF THE ICBMS IN QUESTION.

11. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE PROBLEM OF VERIFYING THE NUMBER OF MIRVED SLBMS WAS DISTINCT FROM THAT OF VERIFYING THE NUMBER OF MIRVED ICBMS AND REMAINED TO BE DISCUSSED. AT THE LATEST BILATERAL (A-843), HOWEVER, SHCHUKIN NOTED THAT THE TIME AT WHICH A SUBMARINE SHOULD BE DESIGNATED AS CONTAINING MIRVED SLBMS SHOULD BE WHEN THE SUBMARINE FIRST WENT TO SEA FOLLOWING CONSTRUCTION OR CONVERSION. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER SHCHUKIN IS ATTEMPTING AT THIS TIME TO EXTEND THE IDEA OF A COMPLEX RULE TO SUBMARINES. JOHNSON

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